

The Suffragist

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OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1919



Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Her Independence Day

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Mr. Bryan Urges Ratification

HON William Jennings Bryan has written the following letter to his friends and followers:

"Suffrage for women is submitted; ratification should follow immediately. In states favorable to ratification special sessions should be called at once, unless regular or adjourned sessions are to be held before the election of 1920. We need the conscience of women to aid man's judgment in settling the problems of today.

"Every state favorable to suffrage should act at once so that the fight can be concentrated on the states where it is necessary. Woman's conscience is needed in politics as never before; it is needed here and in other nations which will be influenced by our example."

This statement should have great weight in the south since Mr. Bryan has received always a great deal of his political support from that section of the country.

Women Workers in the Orient

THE women workers in factories in the Orient suffer even more severe hardships than those who follow similar callings in the West. The 22,000 women workers in the cotton mills in Bombay work eleven hours a day. They work in rooms in which there is almost no air, all windows being closed to keep out the dampness which is considered injurious to the cotton.

In China women and children work twelve hours a day, seven days in the week, and in Japan they work thirteen hours. Child labour conditions are particularly bad in Japan, also housing conditions. Girls who work in factories there sleep in quarters furnished by the factory owners where they are huddled together in the most uncomfortable and insanitary manner.

Picketing As a Means of Publicity

THE Survey of June 21 contains an article by Henriette R. Walter entitled "Women as Workers and Citizens," describing the convention of the National Women's Trade Union League held in Philadelphia the first week in June. She gives an account of the proceedings of the convention in which the following reference to picketing occurs:

"The convention gave a practical demonstration in picketing by coming to the rescue of the Keystone telephone operators who were on strike during the convention for recognition of the union. The delegates picketed in a body, and the publicity thus secured forced the consent of the company to meet a committee of strikers."

So Far Two Opponents to Ratification

SINCE the passage of the suffrage amendment by Congress the opposition to votes for women appears to be melting away

and two of the most conservative states—Pennsylvania and Massachusetts have been among the first eight states to ratify. For this reason the only two outright stands against woman suffrage which we have heard are exceptional enough to be noteworthy. The governor of Louisiana, Mr. Pleasant, is asking the governors of all southern states to oppose the ratification of the amendment. His reason, (if it may be called a reason) is that the amendment "simply adds the word 'sex' to the fifteenth amendment." The other expression of outspoken opposition comes from Mr. James R. Nugent, of New Jersey, who announces his candidacy for the governorship of his state with a statement that he will oppose to the death woman suffrage and prohibition.

Mayor Hylan Suggests Public Defender for Women

AS a result of false arrests and prosecutions of women by the police department of New York, in their "campaign against vice" Mayor Hylan, in a letter to Rodman Wanamaker, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Public Welfare, suggests that the committee arrange for a lawyer, preferably a woman, to be present at each session of the Woman's Court to look after the interests of women who have been arrested and who have not the means to employ legal help. He says: "This would work toward the elimination of the shyster lawyer who devotes himself wholly to preying upon women who are arrested and brought into court and would drive these lawyers from this kind of practice and end any possible connection between such lawyers and the police."

Danish Citizenship for Women Married to Foreigners

DANISH women are pushing a movement which has long appealed to American women, that is, that women married to foreigners may retain their citizenship. The Danish Women's National Council and the Danish Women's Union have four proposals bearing upon the subject which they will submit to the Government. These proposals are:

(1) A Danish woman marrying a man not a Danish citizen keeps her Danish citizenship while living in Denmark.

(2) A Danish woman marrying abroad a man without Danish citizenship regains her citizen rights on return to Denmark if she declares her wish to do so.

(3) A Danish woman married to a man who has no citizen rights anywhere keeps her Danish national rights irrespective of domicile.

(4) If the children are under the mother's sole guardianship they have the same national rights as the mother.

Banners and Votes

THE Women's Emancipation Bill which stands for discussion again in the House of Commons on July 4 contains an article dealing with the extension of the franchise to women under thirty. A demonstration was held on July 1 at Farringdon Street Memorial Hall, the chairman and all the speakers being women under thirty. This meeting was preceded by a procession with banners made up of two sections (a) Women under thirty who demand the vote; (b) women voters who "support their voteless sisters."

It is not difficult for American suffragists of the National Woman's Party to understand the psychology of such a demonstration, since their own battle has been fought chiefly with banners and the votes of the enfranchised women who were willing to "support their voteless sisters."

Lady Constance Lytton's Congratulations

A LETTER has been received at Headquarters which reads as follows:

"Dear Miss Paul:

The attached notice was in The Times some days ago, from which I conclude that at last you have won the vote for which you have toiled so long and suffered so much.

My deepest congratulations go forth to you, our American sisters. . . .

Please don't trouble to answer this little shout of joy which I add to the mighty chorus.

Yours truly,

June 9, 1919. Constance Lytton."

Lady Constance Lytton is honored by all suffragists for the part she took in the English suffrage movement, having suffered imprisonment and forcible feeding for participating in demonstrations. At one time, disguising herself as a seamstress, it developed that as such she was treated more harshly than as Lady Lytton.

Woman's Chamber of Commerce

THERE has been formed under the leadership of Mrs. Katherine Clemmons Gould, a Woman's Chamber of Commerce. It will be made up of business and professional women and its object, so its promoters state, will be exactly that of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The organization is unique in more ways than one—in the first place it takes over in entirety the ideas of the men's association. Women usually have some plans and improvements of their own to offer in forming their own organizations distinct from that of men. This association will foster and further our commerce and industry. The chief requirement for membership is "100 per cent Americanism." The members will work to increase our industries and trade at home and abroad.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Passed June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Passed January 10, 1918, by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

Passed May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

RATIFICATION BY STATES

Wisconsin, June 10, 1919

House Vote 54 to 2

Senate Vote 24 to 1

Michigan, June 10, 1919

Both Houses Unanimous

Kansas, June 16, 1919

Both Houses Unanimous

Ohio, June 16, 1919

House Vote 73 to 6

Senate Vote 27 to 3

New York, June 16, 1919

Both Houses Unanimous

Illinois, June 17, 1919

House vote 133 to 4

Senate Vote unanimous

Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919

House Vote 153 to 44

Senate Vote 32 to 6

Massachusetts, June 25, 1919

House Vote 185 to 47

Senate Vote 34 to 5

Texas, June 28, 1919

House Vote 96 to 21

Senate Vote Unanimous

The Suffragist

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A National Campaign

NINE states ratified the Susan B. Anthony amendment within three weeks from its passage by the Senate. Every Legislature which was in session at the time of its passage, having power to act, has acted favorably. Special sessions were called in three states, Kansas, New York and Missouri, and other Governors have declared an intention to take similar action.

IN the first nine states that ratified, only 139 votes were cast against the amendment, and 831 for it in Houses that were not unanimous, while in two states, Illinois and Texas, the Senates were unanimous and in three states, Michigan, Kansas and New York, both Houses were unanimous.

ONLY four of the first nine states to ratify belong to the class known as full suffrage states. They are New York, Wisconsin, Michigan and Kansas. Three, Ohio, Texas and Illinois, have only partial suffrage, while Pennsylvania and Massachusetts are non-suffrage states.

THEY are also representative of the different sections of the country, the East, the West and the South. In New York we have the greatest state in population and wealth, and Texas, the first really southern state to ratify, is the greatest in area. They are as far apart in their interests, characteristics and people as they are in miles—but in their support of democracy for American women, they act together.

IT is thus that the whole subject of woman suffrage has been worked out as a national question. It will continue to be worked out as such until it is completed, and there is a surprise in store for any who may have thought that suffragists would lose their national perspective with the completion of the struggle with Congress. Ratification work is not to take the form of numerous independent state campaigns, but of a great national movement receiving support from every state, including those that have already ratified, and serving to intensify special work in those particular states that may present difficulties.

Some Senators and Congressmen Who Helped

IT has been said that suffragists have only themselves to thank for the victory that marks the end of a long struggle, but while the fight has been essentially woman's own, there have been hundreds of men throughout the country, in politics and out of politics, from the beginning of the fight to its end, who have so truly understood the aspirations that lay at the bottom of woman's endeavor, that they have stood shoulder to shoulder with her, helping in an earnest, dependable, generous, brotherly fashion, to bring about the things she sought. Let us not forget Senator A. A. Sargent, of California, who more than forty years ago introduced the amendment in the Senate for Susan B. Anthony and continued to press it. In our own day there have been an ever increasing number of true hearted men in Congress who have been the kind of suffragists to actually seek ways to help, and if occasion demanded, to make sacrifices for the cause. All of them can not be mentioned here, and to tell the whole story of their assistance would be to record innumerable details of the past six years' campaign.

FOR instance, there was Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, Republican "whip."

Although not a member of the Woman Suffrage Committee, he met with it, and more than any other man was intimately in touch with the situation. As whip on the Republican side he knew how all of the men stood and he has always been in closest touch with the situation and time and time again has gone over every little detail and possibility and considered the chances of pushing in this or that direction. Women from all over the country looked to him as the man who practically had charge of their interests on the Republican side for the past two Congresses. In May, 1916, shortly after he came to the Senate, when the envoys from the women voters arrived in Washington, after a trip through the suffrage states, he tried to get a hearing for them on the floor of the Senate. Since that time he never lost an opportunity to help, by either acting upon the suggestions of suffragists or offering suggestions to them. No matter how often he was seen he was ever courteous and always ready to help. More than any one else, apparently, he tried to win over votes of individuals.

ANOTHER Senator whose loyalty has been outstanding, is Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, ranking Republican on the Woman Suffrage Committee. More than any other man he has led our fight upon the floor of the Senate. He has protested, time after time, against delay and often of his own initiative has tried to force the amend-

ment to a vote. At the present session of Congress when the Republicans had delayed their own organization and committees had not been appointed, Senator Jones objected to the consequent delay caused to the suffrage amendment, as legislatures which would ratify were nearing the close of their sessions and asked that the resolution be placed on the calendar and the Woman Suffrage Committee discharged from further consideration of it. Aside from his work for the amendment, he has resented injustices to women wherever he has found them. At the time of the great suffrage parade on March 3, 1913, the day before President Wilson's first inauguration, when the suffragists were practically mobbed because of lack of protection from the Washington police, it was Senator Jones, of Washington, who introduced a resolution in the Senate asking for an investigation. Again, last summer, when the women were denied police protection and were thrown in jail, in the old abandoned work house where they contracted what was thought to be lead poisoning from the water pipes, and after being held incommunicado for five days, it was Senator Jones who went to the jail to personally investigate their condition and treatment. He was the first person who was able to gain admittance to see the suffrage prisoners. The next day they were released, so no investigation was necessary. None of the women in jail at that time will ever forget how firmly he declined to be taken aside by the warden and "told just how things were" until he had also heard what the suffragists had to say.

SENATOR Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, although not coming from a suffrage state, has been a suffragist for many years. Women do not forget the fight he made in May, 1917, to discharge from further consideration of the amendment, the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate. The members had all agreed that it should be reported out, and yet the Chairman, Senator Jones of New Mexico, refused to report it out and put it on the calendar. Senator Cummins made a very vigorous fight on the floor, which resulted in Senator Jones shortly after reporting it out. It was fitting, when the amendment finally passed the Senate, that he should be in the Chair and announce its passage.

NOT only has Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin, been a loyal suffragist, but his wife has been very active and his daughter is a member of the Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party. Senator LaFollette rendered a signal service to suffrage last fall. He had been absent from the Senate for months, devoting himself to his son, whose life

was despaired of, but when he was wired that the vote was coming up and that it could not pass without him, he left California and crossed the continent, in order to be present.

AN unfailing advocate has been Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas. He has always been willing to help, and although not on the Woman Suffrage Committee, he has always taken an active part in the fight. He has given a great deal of his time, and always found the time to talk with suffrage workers about the situations that arose. He proved his loyalty, further, at the very end, by disregarding the counsel of Vice-President Marshall just before the vote was taken in the Senate. The Vice-President urged him to vote against the suffrage amendment, since suffrage had been defeated in Texas a few days previous.

IN the House of Representatives, Congressman Mondell of Wyoming, has been a staunch friend. He is one of the original suffragists, having stood for it during the entire quarter of a century which he has been in Congress. In the early days, when suffrage was less popular, he would introduce the amendment. At the time that there was a movement among suffragists towards what was known as the Shafroth-Palmer amendment. Mr. Mondell did not desert the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and this resolution which he introduced was known as "The Mondell Amendment" at the time of the vote in the House in January, 1915. It was at this time that the Congressional Union, now the National Woman's Party, began to call this amendment "The Susan B. Anthony Amendment." Mr. Mondell has introduced the amendment each Congress since then, and when he was elected floor leader by the Republican caucus, in the Sixty-sixth Congress, the suffragists felt that whatever added power he would have in that capacity would be used to push the amendment through the House. As was expected, he was most active.

REPRESENTATIVE Mays, of Utah, came to Washington with the Sixty-fourth Congress, and he has, since that time, never failed to work for the suffrage amendment in every way possible. In February of 1917, when there was a move to force the amendment to a vote in that after-election session of the dying Congress, when about 100 votes were lacking and when an adverse vote would only have jeopardized the amendment in the 65th Congress which it was certain to be called shortly after March 4, Mr. Mays, alone of all the Western Democrats, refused to sign the petition which would have forced the amendment to a disastrous vote.

Ten Thousand Petitions in California

GOVERNOR William D. Stephens, of California, is receiving petitions "by the yard" from the people in his state, asking him to call the special session of the legislature, as he has promised, with some reservations, to do. He says, in a circular which he has himself started on the rounds among the Governors of other states:

"I hereby declare that I will call a special session of the Legislature of the State of which I am the Governor to consider the ratification of the national suffrage amendment to the United States whenever definitely assured that the necessary number of Governors have stated their intention to call an extra session in their respective states."

WHILE Governor Stephens is circulating this "petition" of his own making, the Governors of other states are acting, and the Legislatures of other states are ratifying, and the people of California, by the thousands, are expressing their wish that their state not be discredited by dilatory action in ratifying the suffrage amendment. Their demand is clear, as expressed by the petitions which they are sending him. Ten thousand of these petitions have been sent out from state headquarters of the National Woman's Party, to workers all over the state, and numbers of daily newspapers are carrying them in every issue, under headlines such as "Don't let California Fall Down!" The petition reads as follows:

Suffrage Petition

To Governor Stephens of the State of California:

Whereas, the women of the United States have been struggling for a voice in their own government for over half a century, and,

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has passed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States by a majority of over two-thirds of its membership in both the Senate and the House of Representatives giving the suffrage to women of the United States; and,

Whereas, the President of the United States stands behind this great liberating measure as a measure of democracy, as "the right of those who submit to authority to a voice in their own government."

We, the undersigned voters and taxpayers of the State of California, who have given our sons and our treasure for the great overseas struggle for democracy which has been terminated victoriously, petition that you as chief executive of the State of California, call an extra session of the Legislature of California, that this great state may set an example to the states of the Nation by placing the immediate seal of its approval on the suffrage amendment to the U. S. Constitution."



Mrs. Genevieve Allen, Chairman California Branch

THE State Ratification Committee of the National Woman's Party has opened headquarters at the Bellevue Hotel in San Francisco and in the Fay Building at Los Angeles, and branch headquarters are to be opened in other cities soon. The Committee is composed of the following women: Mrs. Genevieve Allen, State Chairman; Mrs. W. B. Broadwell, Mrs. Beatrice Reynolds Kinhead, Mrs. Orlow Black, Mrs. Edward F. Glaser, Mrs. Augusta Jones, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Mary Ringrose, Miss Lillian O'Hara, Sara Bard Field, Mrs. Hortense Russell Casey, Miss Julie Michelson, Miss Genevieve Cooke, Miss Margaret Mary Morgan, Miss Anna L. Feathertone, Miss Alice Mosgrove, Mrs. Hiram W. Johnson, Miss Ellen B. Scripps, San Diego; Mrs. Frank Havens, Piedmont; Mrs. Frank Panter, Mrs. B. Sinheimer, Mrs. A. G. Boggs, Mrs. Lydia Gibson Mestre, Mrs. Eleanor Martin, Miss Gail Laughlin, Mrs. Vernon Voorhees Rood, San Diego; Mrs. R. C. Allen, San Diego; Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, Oakland; Miss Pauline Jacobson, Mrs. Mary W. Garbutt, Los Angeles; Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst, Los Angeles; Mrs. Elinor Carlise, Berkeley; Miss Vivian Pierce, Mrs. W. H. Shockley, Palo Alto; Miss Martha A. Ijams, Mrs. Elinar Wismer, Mrs. Stella Herron, Mrs. N. E. Rothschild, Mrs. Philip Bancroft.

AN estimate of the cost of a special session was made by State Comptroller John Chambers, at the request of Miss Vivian Pierce, organizer of the National Woman's Party. In his statement, Mr. Chambers said: "In this case an issue greater than the cost is

at stake, and in addition, if the Legislature should be held for this one issue, it could, if it saw fit, finish its work in one day, and certainly without trouble of any kind, finish its work in two days. Under such circumstances the cost should be held to \$10,000 at the utmost . . . In my judgment it is highly desirable that suffrage for women be placed upon a national basis at the earliest possible opportunity. It seems unbelievable that they could have been deprived of rights and privileges accorded to men for so many, many years. California, one of the leading humanitarian and progressive states of the Union, is, of course, a woman suffrage state. It is a foregone conclusion that the Legislature when it does act on the proposed amendment will act favorably. But, because justice in this matter has been so long delayed, and because it seems almost certain ratification by 1920 cannot be secured unless all the states favorable to equal suffrage act promptly, I favor the calling of the California Legislature in special session for this particular purpose."

THE demand for an extra session is receiving the warm support of the press of the state, and various organizations and civic bodies have taken official action by passing resolutions approving the movement. The City Board of Supervisors of San Francisco unanimously passed a resolution requesting the Governor to call the special session for ratification, and similar unanimous action was taken by the San Francisco Labor Council and the Sacramento Council of Clubs, representing all the women's organizations of that city.

Statements have been wired to the California headquarters of the National Woman's Party by Congressman Julius Kahn and Senator Phelan expressing their approval of an extra session for ratification, and members of the California Legislature not only have expressed approval but have said they would be willing to waive their per diem. This suggestion was made to Governor Stephens in a letter from Assemblymen Edgar S. Hurley, and Assemblyman Prendergast has made a similar proposition.

Committees of women with petitions are stationed at department stores, hotels, ferry buildings, railroad stations and public buildings and thousands of people daily are adding their names to the demand that is each day growing more and more insistent.

Plans are being made, also, for meetings for Miss Paul in August, who will make a tour of the state, including the cities of Los Angeles, San Diego, Bakersfield, Fresno, Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley and Stockton. As it is hoped that Governor Stephens will have issued a call to the Legislature before that time, these meetings will probably take the form of rallies to raise funds to finance campaigns in other states.

"Triumphant Democracy"

THE National Woman's Party has been invited by the committee in charge to participate in the National Peace Fourth of July pageant and procession in the city of Washington, in the American section, as representing triumphant democracy in this country. This invitation may be regarded as a recognition of two characteristics of the organi-

zation—devotion to the ideal of triumphant democracy, and the employment of color and motion and symbolism in its work for that ideal. The invitation is appreciated even if it can not be accepted. The needs of the ratification campaign press so heavily upon the organization, that all available funds must be put into that work. "Triumphant democracy" is not fully realized until ratification is completed,

and to celebrate the completion of the task rather than its mere anticipation, is the purpose of the National Woman's Party.

The Fourth of July celebration is under the direction of Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, Director of Drama and Pageantry of the War Camp Community Service for the District of Columbia. Mrs. Forrest is a member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party.

How the Work Progresses

SEVERAL thousand dollars have been raised in states that have ratified toward accomplishing ratification in other states. In Massachusetts an organization was formed immediately upon the passage of the ratification resolution for the purpose of raising funds, to add to the one thousand dollars which had been previously pledged at a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall when Miss Paul and Miss Mabel Vernon were the speakers. The Illinois Branch has a state organizer constantly in the field. Texas, after its ratification victory, pledged \$1,500 toward the general campaign. In Wisconsin a series of meetings, covering an entire week, was the means used to institute their "Woman's Liberty Drive" campaign.

Miss Paul has just completed a tour of Ohio, speaking at Columbus on June 25, at Dayton on June 26, at Cincinnati on June 28, and Cleveland on June 30. A luncheon was tendered her at the Deshler Hotel in Columbus by the Ohio Branch, and more than two hundred men and women gathered to hear the discussion of the ratification plans. She congratulated them upon Ohio's prompt action and said that the next undertaking must be the raising of a contribution from the state which would help carry victory to other states. The Centenary Exposition of the Methodist Church was in progress in Columbus during her visit, and she spoke before a gathering of Methodist women from all parts of the country and urged them to work for ratification in their respective states.

In Dayton, where she was the guest of Mrs. Valentine Winters, she addressed a meeting at the Community Hall on Thursday night. A reception was tendered her by the suffragists of Dayton just prior to the meeting.

A DEPUTATION of Connecticut members of the National Woman's Party waited upon Governor Holcomb on June 24 and asked that he call a special session of the legislature. The deputation was headed by Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn and included Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, Mrs. Annie Porritt, of Hartford; Miss Emily Pierson, of Cromwell; Mrs. Walter J. Bartlett, of Putnam; Mrs. Mary R. Mulholland, of New Haven; Miss Elsie Hill,

of Norwalk; and Mrs. George L. Koenig, Mrs. George H. Day and Mrs. George P. Chandler, of Hartford. The members of the deputation wore the purple, white and gold of the National Woman's Party, and the Governor was addressed by Mrs. Hepburn, Mrs. Porritt, Miss Pierson, Mrs. Bennett and Miss Hill.

The suffragists met outside the capitol before being admitted to the presence of the Governor and grouped themselves around a big banner containing the words: "We demand a special session of the Connecticut Legislature."

MISS Mabel Vernon has returned to Georgia to conduct the campaign during the

session of the Legislature there. Several new branches of the National Woman's Party have been organized in Georgia. With the ratification by Texas, Georgia and Alabama are left as the next southern states to whom the opportunity to ratify is presented. Senator Harris, Governor Dorsey, and Congressman Upshaw, of Georgia, favor ratification, and members of the Democratic Executive Committee of Atlanta have likewise expressed themselves. This is the same committee that recently invited the women of Atlanta to participate in the primaries, thus virtually granting them primary suffrage in municipal affairs. An active campaign is being waged in Alabama in which prominent Democratic officials are assisting the suffragists.



Governor Sproul, of Pennsylvania, signing the Suffrage Ratification Resolution. Standing from left to right: Mr. Harry McDevitt, Secretary to Governor; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Chairman of Ratification Committee; Frederick Rasmussen, Secretary of Agriculture, and Miss Ella Riegel, Member Executive Committee National Woman's Party.

Texas First Southern State to Ratify

ON June 28 the Lone Star State became the ninth star on the woman's ratification banner. On that date, by unanimous vote in the Senate of the Texas Legislature, that state ratified the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Action had been taken by the House of Representatives on June 24, when ratification won by a vote of 96 to 21. A great deal of interest centered upon Texas for several reasons. It was the first Democratic "one-party" state to consider the matter, it had recently gone against a state suffrage measure, and was the first southern state to hold a meeting of the Legislature after the passage of the amendment.

For these reasons the Texas victory is extremely significant. The way is opened for other southern states to follow. The specious arguments that have been advanced in an effort to prevent ratification by southern states

have been refuted at this first opportunity a southern state had to refute them.

THE Texas Branch of the National Woman's Party was organized in Houston in January, 1916, by Miss Paul. For several months previous to its organization, a campaign had been conducted toward gaining the support of Congressmen and Representative Robert Henry, who was then Chairman of the Rules Committee of the House. Since that time, there has been constant activity in the state for federal woman suffrage, and it is largely due to this activity that Texas has shown such great progress. Both Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, former state chairman, and Mrs. Paul Millett, the present state chairman, have been untiring in their efforts, and they have received the loyal support of splendid groups of women in every section of the state. Among

the most active lobbyists in Washington has been Mrs. E. A. Calvin of Houston, who has interviewed several members of the Cabinet and many other prominent officials. Other Texas women who have been active in the protests against the delay of democracy are Mrs. Alex Shields, of Amarillo; Miss Lucy Maverick, of San Antonio; Miss Elizabeth Kalb, of Houston—Mrs. Shields and Miss Kalb having served prison terms for demonstrations in Washington.

TEXAS members of the National Woman's Party were ably assisted during the ratification campaign by Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, who addressed thousands of people at mass meetings throughout the state. The Texas Branch will continue to work, joining with other states that have ratified in the raising of funds for campaigns in states that are lagging behind.

Woman's Acumen a National Asset

Editorial From Richmond Va. Evening Journal, June 5, 1919

FORTY-ONE years ago, Senator Sargent, of California, having the courage of his convictions, introduced the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution which won final indorsement of the national legislators yesterday. Twenty congresses have come and gone since Senator Sargent—long since deceased—saw the resolution uncereemoniously pigeonholed. Five times the senate has voted on the question, but until June 4th, the reactionary element was strong enough to prevent passage, a two-thirds vote being necessary. The house, meanwhile, has twice expressed its approval of the measure, that body, by a vote of 304 to 89, May 21, sending the joint resolution to the senate which, after two days' debate, gladdened the hearts of all Americans advocating a purer democracy than now obtains by voting 56 to 25 in favor of the amendment. It now goes to the state legislatures for ratification, requiring a three fourths vote of approval to become law. In other words, thirty-six of the forty-eight states must indorse the amendment, through their state legislatures.

Fortunately, there is no time limit on the amendment, hence any incentive on the part of the antis to obstruct passage is absent. Of course, there will be a few "last ditchers," smug male legislators, who will deny the fitness of women to think in political terms and whose tender solicitude for the home will interpose objections to exposing their pedestaled angels to the vulgar atmosphere of a polling booth. They are woefully blind to the

fact that hundreds of thousands of women have economic problems to solve outside the home and are entitled to gain, through laws that are not wholly man-made, that protection and those ameliorating conditions which justice and common sense suggest. No longer do the four walls of a home provide sanctity and equality for our women. To preserve their rights, to protect their offspring, they must go to the state and the national legislatures for laws which woman's intuitions and woman's love demand and which in many states will not be conceded until that powerful fulcrum, woman's vote, pries loose all opposition.

How futile the voice of Senator Gay, of Louisiana, who pretended that he was against the amendment because of entailed enfranchisement of negro women and, for that reason, the required thirteen states would refuse to ratify and cause its rejection. We say "pretended" because he knows that the right to impose qualifications on voters remains with the states and may be enforced in precisely the same manner with the women as they are with the men. There is no curtailment of state sovereignty; sex is not a qualification. The other equally insincere objection, that it infringes on state rights, we have heretofore answered. If it was not an infringement to vote for the prohibition amendment, neither is it violative of that sacrosanct notion to vote for the suffrage amendment: you cannot differentiate, since the principle is precisely the same; hence, the Virginia delegation in congress that

voted for national prohibition and denied the women the same process of amending the Constitution indulged in political pettifoggery.

They are not frank enough to declare what they think—that the women of Virginia have not the mentality to grapple with the questions they settle so readily and so much more satisfactorily than women could do. It is a sorry position to take and wholly untenable. The women of Virginia are no whit less capable than their sisters of the western states, while their intellectual status is, probably, much higher than the average. It is an insult to their acumen to interpose objections which we have shown are illogical and sincere. The Martin-Swanson dodge is to assert that they—the senators—have not been assured that the women of Virginia—the majority—want the vote. Isn't that a sad statement? As if the great principle of equal suffrage, of a purer democracy was dependent upon a recorded plebiscite of any state. The negative votes of the two Virginia senators, in the face of the strong appeal of President Wilson for justice for women, cause large-visioned men and women to blush for such narrowness. With twenty-eight states now enjoying full or presidential suffrage, it is certain that the other eight states will be gained in support, and we cherish the hope that Virginia will not allow herself to be shackled or influenced by the pitiable action of her two United States senators. The time has arrived to recognize that a splendid asset lies in woman's political activities which Virginia cannot afford to ignore.

Let Us Not Withhold the Right from Woman

By John H. Wallace, Montgomery, Ala.

CONGRESS, having submitted to the various states for ratification or rejection a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing that the "right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," the question of woman suffrage is squarely up to the American people for action. The time for delaying and dodging the question has passed. We must either take it or leave it.

The heroism, the unselfish spirit, the splendid leadership, the noble sacrifices and the unrivalled efficiency, which the women of America have displayed during the war have challenged the admiration of the world and have caused them to be regarded as rational, responsible beings, capable of doing man's work, of initiative, of rare executive ability, and therefore the equal of man in all the walks of life, except at the ballot box.

After the most careful investigation, I am unequivocally convinced that the fear express-

ed in some quarters that there will be a wholesale enfranchisement of negro women by an act of Congress is absolutely unfounded. The act of Congress, putting into force the equal suffrage amendment, after its ratification, will merely provide that female citizens shall be authorized and empowered to vote in all elections provided for by the Constitution and laws, and that the same qualifications which men must possess, to become voters, must also be had by women before they can legally become qualified electors in this or any other state.

We have had much more to dread in the past than we will have to fear in the future.

President Wilson, the leader of the Democratic Party, recommended the submission of the suffrage amendment; the National Democratic Executive Committee has urged its submission and ratification, and we, Southern Democrats, recall the fact that the women of the West, in the states where women vote, rallied to the standard of the Democratic Party

and cast the necessary votes to perpetuate our Party in power in Washington, which Party has made a record of achievement, in peace and in war, which is the pride and glory of every patriotic American heart, and as loyal Democrats, we must realize that we owe the women of the country a political debt of gratitude, which we should be eager to pay.

Should the Democratic South vote against the equal suffrage amendment, the women in the suffrage states, where party lines are lax, will immediately retaliate by voting against the Democratic Party in the next presidential and Congressional election. Without the votes of the women in the states, where there is equal suffrage, the Democratic Party in the next Presidential election is doomed to overwhelming defeat.

Those who claim the power to read the future with any degree of accuracy are stone-blind unless they can see equal suffrage an accomplished fact.

Analogies Between Methods Employed By Woman's Party and Organized Labor

By William P. Harvey, of the War Labor Board and former Editor of American Railway Employee's Journal.

STRIKING analogies may be drawn between the efforts of the militant branch of the suffragists to force votes for women and the methods used by organized labor in reaching its present stage of progress toward a perfect day.

WHEN the National Woman's Party was organized six years ago, the suffrage for women movement was in a moribund state. For more than sixty years, for two generations, champions of equal suffrage had worked unsuccessfully to make a dent in the callousness of the men voters and get electoral rights for women. They had succeeded in a few states, in few enough to show how big a job there was ahead of the movement before it would be established nationally.

Whereas the movement formerly had been placed on a silks and jam basis, with an underground of tea and muffins, the new order of "suffs," as they really like to be called, were in the habit of working all of the morning, draping themselves across stools for luncheon and were pretty apt to work all afternoon without resort to the mild stimulation of tea and small talk. And like as not, several hours at night were devoted to street corner meetings, to hall meetings, to business sessions for organizers and to general surveys that would make for progress.

Rotund legislators who previously resorted to compliments to aged ladies beseeching the

vote, thereby forestalling them, were a bit dazed by the new order of "suffs." Mostly, they were young girls, fired with zeal and coached in reason. Compliments they had in plenty from real admirers. What they wanted from representatives and senators were votes. They got them, one by one, through a grueling battle in which pure reason was used as the basic weapon.

BUT reason was only one of the offensives employed. They also used union labor's greatest weapons, the picket and an undaunted front when made the victims of illegal imprisonments. Previously, the suffrage for women movement had been a bit of farce comedy, a butt for all the ancient jokes. Under the leadership of Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party, suffrage and its efforts were dramatized. The martyrdom of delicate women facing humiliations and imprisonment were lined against the deficiencies of thinking citizens. Their semi-tortures in the odorous jail of the District of Columbia, incarceration with negro women, with women of various shades of character, the poor food, the hunger strikes, all made effective weapons for proselyting the public in every state where picketing was allowed other groups of citizens as a matter of law.

Score after score of women, citizens subject to laws which they had no voice in making, taxed without representation in imitation of

the ancient tyranny which forced this country toward the freedom from oppressive rule, walked up the steps of the Capitol and were brutally jerked by Capitol guards to imprisonment. Some emerged from their hunger strikes to go to hospitals. Others were cared for in the infirmary Miss Paul established in the party headquarters here. All were given medals, bits of metal showing prison bars and in which they gloried.

IF the analogy may be continued, woman suffrage has now reached the stage of "collective bargaining." The Congress had allowed it to pass as a prospective constitutional amendment. And in every state where it is possible that the legislatures may be gained on the side of ballots for women, representatives of the National Woman's Party are present to watch out for its interests. It is certain to pass. The women, knowing their political strength, as labor has learned to know its economic strength, are pressing every advantage. The "collective bargaining" strength of these prospective voters is all the argument needed in the number of states necessary to give the required three-fourths majority and make woman suffrage effective within the year. And be it said to the credit of labor, that this latest and most striking effort for freedom is being given vast impetus by men and women workers.

Comments

Right and Irresistible

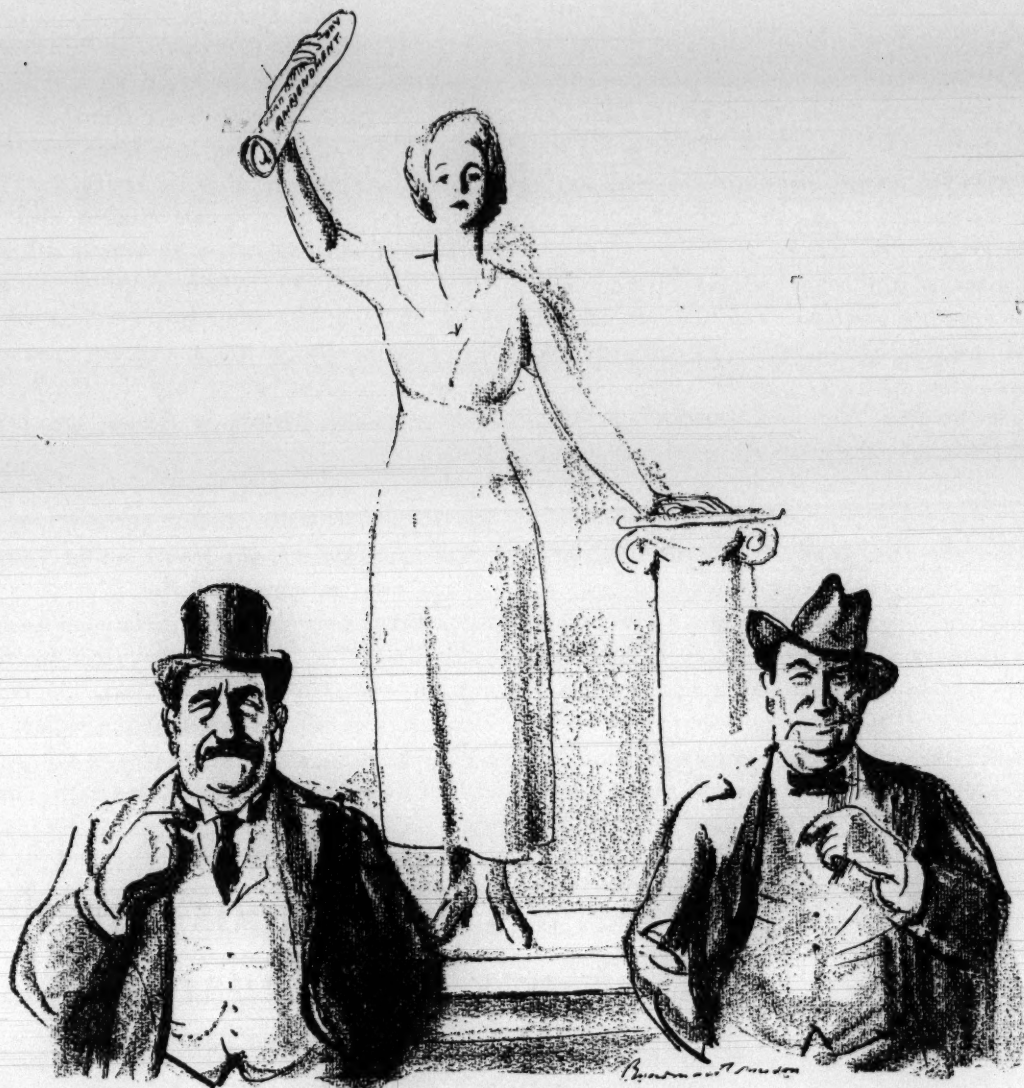
EVERY consideration urged against woman suffrage has fallen flat in the light of truth and experience.

Where it prevails, it has had a cleansing influence in politics. It has elevated the tone and quality of the public service; it has resulted in a closer scrutiny of legislation; it has resulted in a better enforcement of the laws; it has resulted in a greater circumspection of conduct in candidates and public officials; and it has given in a marvellous degree a greatly needed independence to politics.

The political parties, because of women in politics, are more particular to be right than they have ever been, and they are realizing more and more that there is a new moral force in the politics of the nation that can not be disregarded.

They are coming to realize that there is already a balance of power that is not going to be reached by money or debauched by whiskey. It is a power that comes to the electorate somewhat new to politics, to public issues, but with a patriotism that is unsullied, with a courage that is dauntless, with an integrity that is incorruptible, with a spirit that is lofty and pure, and with a virtue that is virile and militant.

It is blindness to turn away from the righteousness of this question of woman's enfranchisement—as blind as it is to refuse to see the irresistibility of it.—Houston (Tex.) Post, June 15, 1919.



The Gentleman on the Left: I did it.

The Gentleman on the Right: I did it

Georgia's Opportunity

GEORGIA may have the honor of being the first of the Southern states to ratify the woman suffrage amendment, if she wishes. Her legislature meets within a few weeks and the matter may be closed finally, so far as Georgia is concerned, by early ratification.

This would be an honor Georgia would come, in time, to prize most dearly. The present moment holds for her an opportunity that never will come again. Friends of the cause already are planning a comprehensive campaign for ratification. The Georgian pledges its most sincere and earnest cooperation with the friends of woman suffrage, to the consum-

mation of victory when the legislature meets. —Atlanta Georgian, June 7, 1919.

Prompt Ratification

ON September 25, 1918, the Republicans of Colorado, in convention, said:

"We are proud of the fact that Colorado was one of the first states to give women the right to vote. Those who question this right find their answer in the splendidly patriotic work our women are doing in the war, both at home and on the firing line. We condemn the action of those who are opposing or obstructing the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the constitution of the United States, under which the privilege enjoyed by the women of Colorado will be extended to all women of the country; and we pledge our

earnest effort to bring about the immediate passage of this amendment by Congress and its prompt ratification by the states."

On June 4, 1919, the Senate of the United States agreed to the submission of the suffrage amendment to the states. Similar action had been taken previously by the House.

Thus the question was transferred to the legislatures. Colorado is one of the 15 states which have granted suffrage and it should be in the forefront of the movement for national ratification. To the Republicans, especially, action is of vital concern.

They have promised to bring about "prompt ratification." That the amendment will be approved there is no question—the issue is one of party pledges and "prompt ratification."—Colo. Springs Evening Telegram, June 9, 1919.

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VICTORY for women came as it should, calmly, quietly, by overwhelming vote.

Those who still see some chances of defeating suffrage in the states lose sight of this inevitable sweep of public opinion which has forced the measure through our most conservative legislative body by a two-thirds vote. If the change rested upon a small propaganda, however intense, or the machinations of politicians, there might yet be doubt. But the irresistible force of the popular will is unmistakable. Women will gain their full rights, not because of any group of men or women, but because the whole nation is ready for the move and persuaded of its necessity.—N. Y. Tribune, June 6, 1919.

Triumph of the Index

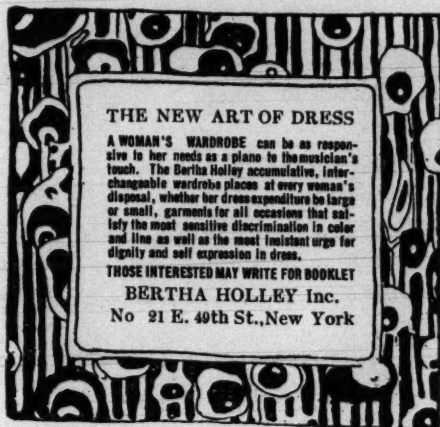
SPECIFIC rather than general headings should be chosen; e. g., entry should be under potatoes not tubers, sparrows rather than birds. . . . Each entry should be written on a separate slip and the slips alphabetized in trays.—The New International Encyclopedia, Article "Index."

In an article printed in The New York Times March 2, 1919, Miss Maud Younger, keeper of the Suffrage Card Index, explained the mysteries and the purposes of the elaborate system of information which the National Woman's Party has amassed at Washington. The records of the party then showed "how nine votes had been won in the Senate since the amendment passed the House." "Why," asked the interviewer, "do you want to know the habits of the Congressmen?" To which question the lady made this ingenious reply:

"For several reasons. For example, some Congressmen get to their offices early; one that I know at 7:30; and this is often the best time during the day to see them. Then, if a member is a drinking man, we want to know that. One of our lobbyists may go to him and not know what is the matter with him."

Doubtless, in the interest of continuous

and comprehensive statistics, the trays of that elaborate index system will be kept full. Fortunately, the hour is past when any air of suspicion or of the sound exertion of justly acquired feminine influence and authority could be imagined, even by the ill disposed, to have any effect on the illustrious subjects of this card index of statesmen. One by one the lost sheep are gathered in. One by one the bad Indians have been brought into the reservation. Sooner or later the worst reactionary is made to see the light. Sooner or later every Saul is transformed into Paul. The card index is here mentioned only to illustrate the capabilities, the industry, and the intelligent sociological curiosity of the victorious National Woman's Party.—N. Y. Times, May 22, 1919.



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Tennessee, Mrs. Sam Young, Dixon Springs

Louisiana, Mrs. W. J. Roach, 1401 St. Charles Ave., New Orleans

Texas, Mrs. Lena Gardner, Fort Worth

Maine, Mrs. Helen M. Leonard, Carroll St., Portland

Utah, Mrs. P. S. Witcher, 135 C Street, Salt Lake City

Maryland, Miss Eleanor White, 817 North Charles St., Baltimore

Vermont, Dr. Anna L. Kelton, Montpelier

Massachusetts, Mrs. Robert Gorham Fuller, 9 Park St., Boston

Virginia, Mrs. W. Hill Urganhart, The Raleigh, Richmond

Michigan, Mrs. F. C. Aldinger, 9 Savoy Court, Lansing

Wisconsin, Mrs. Carl Haessler, 719 Stowell Ave., Milwaukee

Contributions from June 20 through June 28, 1919:

Contributions to National

Headquarters:

Mrs. George Pfister, Va.	\$25.00
Per Pennsylvania Branch:	
Miss Fanny T. Cochran	500.00
Mr. W. Matthews, La.	5.00
Mrs. James Christal, N. Y.	1.00
Mr. Francis Carter, Ga.	5.00
Col. Herbert Dean, Ga.	20.00
Mrs. W. S. Ward, China	5.00
Miss Mary Winsor, collected,	
N. Mex.	12.32
Mrs. Robert K. Pollack,	
N. Mex.	8.00
Mrs. C. B. McMillan, N. Mex.	5.00
Mr. Francis C. Wilson,	
N. Mex.	10.00
Mrs. Anna Davis Parker,	
New Mex.	2.00
Central Pennsylvania Woman	
Suffrage Association.	108.72
Mrs. E. C. Stevenson, Colo.	5.00
Mrs. Ella Rush Murray, N. Y.	5.00
Mrs. Amelia Hines Walker,	
Md.	20.00
Miss Gertrude Brigham, D. C.	1.00
Miss Mary E. Henaughan,	
D. C.	5.00
Mr. J. F. Wright, Mich.	10.00
Per Colorado Branch:	
Mrs. Sidford Hamp...	75.00

Mrs. Augusta Evans---	25.00
Miss Katharine Courtney	10.00
Mrs. Lawrence Lunt---	5.00
Membership fees -----	21.00
Total collected by National	
Headquarters June 20,	
through June 28 ---	894.04
Previously acknowledged in	
The Suffragist -----	434,948.69
Total collected through June	
28, 1919 -----	435,842.73
Contributions to State	
Headquarters:	
Contributions to New Hampshire	
Headquarters:	
Mrs. Sam Terrant---	15.00
Miss Millicent Morse	5.00
Dr. Mary Danford---	4.00
Miss M. W. Hubbard	5.00
Mrs. C. L. Pierson---	5.00
Mrs. Jenny Gutherson	5.00
Mr. S. H. Brown-----	5.00
Mrs. Mortimer Warren	15.00
Miss Margaret McCarty	5.00
Mr. Lionel Wilson---	5.00
Miss Pearl Miens----	5.00
Mrs. Bertha D. Brown	5.00
Mrs. Frank M. Frizell	5.00
Mrs. E. O. Maxwell---	5.00

Total -----	89.00
Contributions to Connecticut	
Branch:	
A Friend -----	100.00
Miss Frances H. Hollenbeck	5.00
Miss Frances B. Ryce	5.00
Mrs. George H. Day---	25.00

Mrs. Charles Boughton	
Wood -----	125.00
Receipts Luncheon for	
Mary MacArthur---	205.95

Total -----	465.95
Contributions to Milwaukee	
Branch:	

Mrs. Anna Richard---	25.00
Mrs. F. T. Andrea---	10.00
Mrs. Nathan Stein---	5.00
Mrs. Martha Heide---	25.00
Mrs. Trompetter -----	25.00
Mrs. Jacobi -----	10.00
Mrs. Allan Roberts---	6.00
Mrs. Ulrich -----	6.00
Mrs. Ralph Elmergreen	25.00
Mrs. William Polacheck	10.00
Mrs. P. Spetz -----	5.00
Miss M. Heide-----	20.00
Miss Irma Hockstein	5.00
Miss Annette Rosenthal	10.00
Miss Lutie Stearnes---	10.00

Total -----	197.00
Total collected by	
Branches -----	751.95
Previously acknowledged in	
The Suffragist -----	87,142.98
Total Collected by Branches	
through June 28, 1919-----	87,894.93
Grand Total -----	523,737.66
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Head-	
quarters to National Head-	
quarters -----	5,233.50
Grand Net Total -----	\$518,504.16--

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Sateen Petticoats, in regulation and extra sizes; the extra sizes are in flowered sateen, made with deep flounce, finished with a pleated ruffle. The regular sizes are in black, with deep pleated flounce which has a wide vandyke border in a figured effect. Choice-----

\$1.69

—Fine Quality Sateen Petticoats, with novelty pleated flounce, finished with narrow pleated ruffle; these are in gray, green, blue and wistaria grounds, with overdesign in black figure and colored coin spot at-----

\$3.00

—Heatherbloom Petticoats, made with deep flounce, fancy tucked and finished with two small ruffles, in plain colors, also a deep flounce, tucked and finished with small pleated ruffle, in green, navy, Belgian blue, rose and black.

—At the same price we have a Heatherbloom petticoat in a figured or Dresden pattern made with a deep flounce finished with small ruffles.

\$2.25

—Extra Size Petticoats of
Heatherbloom at-----

\$2.50

—Extra Size Petticoats of sateen and "Liberty Loom," at

\$2.00 and \$3.50

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